

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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ANY MONEY!!!

Any money will be given for a NET, so ingeniously and curiously contrived as to catch, and hold in *safe custody*, all and every one of the *small fishes*, and to let any *BIG fish* (that may happen to be caught) *shuffle out*; and shuffle out in such a way, too, that no one shall be able to *see a breach* in the Net! The Net will be wanted in about *three weeks*, which will be the beginning of the fishing-season. Net-Weavers are earnestly called on to come forward. There is no time to be lost! Any money will be given for this purpose. Apply to the *Head of the Rump*. If application be made by letter, write "Net" on the outside, in order to insure the letter's being *opened*.

WANTED VERY MUCH!

A *Cork-Jacket*, that will keep from sinking big promise and small performance, thundering threats and shy attacks, folly and conceit, meanness and pride, fits of loquacity and fits of dumbness, all buttoned up in one and the same waistcoat and covered by one and the same hat. Apply as above, and in precisely the same way, only putting "Cork" instead of "Net," on the outside of the Letter.—N.B. Both articles are wanted *as soon as possible*, and will be equally *well paid for*; but, the NET is wanted *first*.—That article is absolutely *indispensable*.

NEW YEAR'S GIFT

TO

THE FARMERS.

Explaining the causes of their present Embarrassments and impending ruin.

London, Jan. 1, 1821.

FARMERS,

There is a Scotch lawyer who has accused me of *proscribing*

men by whole classes. This is a very greedy hunter after place; and he dislikes me as naturally as a rat dislikes the cat which guards the cheese and bacon! This accusation of his is false. I never marked out any class of men for proscription. If I have an antipathy to *stock-jobbers* or *seat-sellers*, my antipathy is warranted by law as well as by reason. These men are continually acting in open violation of the

law; and they are much more proper objects of attack than thieves and pick-pockets are, because these latter, though they violate the law, do not carry on the violation openly, confessedly and boastingly.

To complain of the misconduct of whole classes of men, is not to *proscribe* such classes. In surveying the different classes; in making a comparative estimate of their public conduct; in taking a view of the effects of that conduct: those who do this, and who choose to put the result of their observations upon paper, have surely a right to give the preference to one class before another; to praise those deemed worthy of praise, and to censure those deemed worthy of censure.

Proceeding upon these principles, and taking a fair view of the conduct of the persons of different classes in this kingdom, I have often said, and I still say, that the *Farmers* form the class who have conducted themselves in the worst manner. In talking of classes, however, I am not to be supposed to include the *traffickers in seats and the jobbers in stocks*; because these are really proscribed by the law; they are two sets of criminals;

and are by no means to be confounded with classes who have been guilty of political offences, whether of commission or of omission. You, the farmers, have not only been deficient in point of public spirit; you have not only shewn a willingness to support a system, which has at last brought even yourselves to the verge of destruction; but you have voluntarily aided and abetted those by whom the system has been carried on; and, what is still worse, you have appeared to take pleasure in the persecution of every man, whose zeal has urged him forward to oppose that system. You are, therefore, not proper objects of compassion: all of us suffer, but you merit your sufferings.

I speak here with *numerous very honourable exceptions*; and if I did not, in the most marked manner make these exceptions, I should be guilty of crying injustice; for, I know many farmers, who are amongst the most ardent friends of freedom and of justice, and who are also amongst the most enlightened men with whom I have ever had the honour to be acquainted. If I personally know *many* such, the whole number of such farmers must be

great. My natural partialities, my liking for your calling and state of life, the pleasure I derive from participating, though it were only by books, in your pursuits; all these naturally dispose me to see in every farmer a man of public spirit, of ardour in the cause of freedom, as well as to find in him, what are very seldom wanting, a clear understanding, and soundness of judgment. But (always speaking with numerous exceptions) I am constrained to confess, that, as to public matters, I have always found you miserably selfish and destitute of feeling; the causes of which it would not be very difficult to point out; but the effects are manifest in the continuation of a system, which has been productive of a greater mass of human suffering than, as I believe, was ever before experienced, in a like space of time, in any country in the world. And, I am really of opinion, that this system will continue until you shall feel very nearly what your miserable labourers now feel.

Considering your past conduct, I can deem nothing due to you in the way either of instruction or advice. I do not, in addressing you upon the cause of your

ruin, act from a hope or even a desire to relieve you, or render you assistance in any way whatever. You and your affairs are a subject of pure speculation with me. I write about you with as little feeling as a chemist writes about the things that pass through his crucible. But, you form a curious subject for the political philosopher; and to develope the nature of your concerns may be of use to the nation at large, not only at the present time, but in times yet to come.

It is now about six years since you began to feel the pinchings of distress. This feeling filled you with the desire of seeking a remedy through the assistance of a legislative measure. For nobody did you feel as long as you were thriving; but, the moment you ceased to thrive, you flew to the government for that assistance and protection, which you had never called for in behalf of any other human being. Your *prices fell*; and the notion got into your minds, that the sole remedy was to *make the prices rise again*. The means of accomplishing this object, was, as you thought, to prevent the importation of farm-produce from other countries.

Hence the *Corn Bill*, which not only with your approbation, but agreeably to your pressing intreaties, was passed with troops drawn up round the Houses of Parliament! After this there was nothing that ever could arise that would leave you just ground of complaint; for in this one thing we see you deprived of all claim to the compassion of any part of your countrymen.

From that day to this day, your affairs have been upon the decline; your embarrassments have been increasing; your final ruin has become, daily, more manifestly unavoidable. Still you cry on for Corn Bills and Wool Bills; still you call out for what you call *protection*; and during the last two years, or thereabouts, you have been forming yourselves into *combinations*, (far less clearly lawful than the clubs and societies of Reformers,) in order to produce an extension of the effect of the Corn Bills. At last, however, the Government and the Parliament have told you, that they can do nothing for your relief; that the "*healing hand of time*" can alone effect your cure; while time, your true and faithful councillor, tells you that it has no remedies in store.

I should suppose, that, within the last five years, you must have expended amongst you, on writers, printers, publishers, secretaries, club-rooms, agents, and one thing and the other, a quarter of a million of money, at least, in order to effect a *rise in the price of corn*. All this money has been wholly thrown away. It has answered no purpose but that of keeping up the deception in your own minds, and of giving offence to the rest of the community. If you had followed the advice which I gave you in the years 1814, 1815, and 1816, how different at this time would be your situation!

In explaining to you the causes of your ruin, first let me endeavour to get out of your minds the erroneous notion that *high price* is, in itself considered, a good thing. If wheat were sold for a shilling a bushel, the farmer might be better off than if it were sold at twenty shillings a bushel. If a man give a hundred shillings an acre rent for his land, and sell his wheat for twenty shillings a bushel, he is not so well off as the farmer who gave three shillings an acre for his land, and who sold his wheat at

a shilling a bushel. If one shilling would buy a yard of broad cloth, the farmer who got that shilling for a bushel of wheat, would be a richer man in that respect than the farmer who had to give thirty shillings for a yard of broad cloth, and who must sell his wheat for twenty shillings the bushel. It is not, therefore, you see, *mere high price* that can be any good to you. You should make a distinction between *positive amount* and *relative amount*. By positive amount I mean the *amount in itself considered*. And then, as mere amount twenty shillings is better than one. But when the amount is *relative*; that is to say, when it is to be considered *relatively* to, or in *comparison with, other sums*; then one shilling in this case may be better than the twenty in the other. For, if I can buy a greater quantity of useful things with one shilling, than I can with twenty shillings, it is clear that the one shilling is better than the twenty. Therefore, it is not at *the sum received* that you are alone to look; but also at the sum which it is required that you should *expend*.

Keep these things in mind, and you will soon discover that

it is not an augmentation of your *receipts* that you ought to have been seeking for; but a reduction of your *expences*. The first thing that strikes you is a falling off in the prices of your produce; and, therefore, the first thing which an unreflecting man does, under such circumstances, is to seek for a rise in the price. To seek for a lessening of the *out-goings* does not occur to him so quickly. It appears to be a matter of greater difficulty, and much slower in the accomplishment. Besides he does not perceive any hope of success in this way; especially when he reflects that his out-goings consist, for the greater part, of rents, tithes and taxes. The first he is generally bound to pay by lease; the second he is also bound to pay by lease, except in the few cases where tithes are taken in kind, to avoid which mode of payment, he will make almost any sacrifice; and from the fourth he sees no more possibility of fleeing than from death itself. He looks upon the tax-gatherer as inflexible, irresistible and immortal. To cope with such a power he has no hope. He, therefore, looks to the remedy of an act of parliament, the effect of which shall

be to raise his prices, and to keep them up. He sues for a compromise with his landlord, his parson, and the tax-gatherer, and he says, "secure me high prices, and I will pay you your rent, your tithes and your taxes."

This has been the line of conduct pursued by the farmers. Acts of parliament have accordingly been passed; the objects of those acts were to raise the price of farm produce, and to keep it up, and still the ruin of the farmers has proceeded steadily on. They have not perceived the real cause of their ruin; and, therefore, I will now, for about the hundredth time, explain to them that cause.

When, in any community, the quantity of money, or of circulating medium, is great in proportion to the number and magnitude of the dealings in that community, then *prices are high*. When the quantity of money or circulating medium in such community is small, then prices are low. The reasons of these are very clear, and need not now be stated. It is of no consequence to a community, or to any part of it, whether *there be much or whether there be little* money in circulation within such

community, provided, mind, that there be *no fluctuation in the quantity*. But, if there be fluctuations in the quantity; if there be a change from a small quantity to a great quantity; or, from a great one to a small one; then all the affairs of the community experience *disturbance*: instead of a fair chance of gain or of loss, distributed promiscuously amongst the several members of the community; and leaving to ingenuity, industry, skill, economy, and providential foresight, all the advantages which they naturally secure to their possessors; instead of this, a circulating medium, fluctuating in its quantity, divides the community *into classes*; and of these classes it ruins some and enriches others; or it diminishes the wealth of some, and betters the condition of others. Let us suppose a community with a money, or circulating medium; and, it will be best to call it money at once, it being all the same in this respect whether it be paper or gold. Let us suppose a community with money to the amount of ten millions of pounds. Let us suppose that wheat sells for five shillings a bushel, while this quantity of

money is afloat. If this money be (by any means whatever) augmented in quantity to twenty millions instead of ten, wheat will necessarily sell for ten shillings the bushel. It will sell indeed for more; because the latter ten millions will cause the whole mass to move quicker from hand to hand, and any given price of money of the twenty millions, will have much greater power than any price of the ten millions (the prices being of the same nominal amount) has ever had.

It is very clear, that, all the time that the augmentation of the money is going on, *prices will go on rising*; and the farmer will go on reaping advantage from such rise. Suppose he has a lease for seven years when the augmentation of the quantity of money is beginning; and suppose his rent to be a hundred pounds a year. It will then require 400 bushels of wheat to pay his rent; but when the quantity of money has been augmented to twenty millions, it will then require, to pay his rent, only 200 bushels of wheat at the most. The same cause will produce the same effects with regard to

tithes, which he takes on lease, and also with regard to taxes.

On the other hand, all the time a diminution of the quantity of money is going on, *prices will go on falling*; and the farmer will go on suffering from such fall. His rent which, at first, demanded four hundred bushels of wheat, would go on every year demanding more and more, till, at last, when the quantity of money has been lessened by one half, his rent will demand eight hundred bushels of wheat per annum. His tythes, if he has them on lease, will oppress him in the same way; as will also his taxes.

If you keep this clearly in your minds, you will soon perceive that it is not Corn Bills that can relieve you; and, though I, by no means, wish to prevent the presenting of those petitions which you are again, I understand, preparing for the parliament; and which, while they cannot possibly do the mass of the people any harm, may serve to amuse you, and to produce long botheration speeches, which are a great diversion to me. I by no means wish to prevent you from reading these petitions. They will give employment to clerks,

printers and paper-makers. These are rather *unproductive* labourers, to be sure ; but their employment is as beneficial, at any rate, as the digging of holes one day and filling them up the next, a mode of employment suggested by the profound Castlereagh, to whom you have given your cordial support ; and in defence of the system of which he is one of the conductors, you so gallantly drew your swords on St. Peter's-field at Manchester. I by no means wish to prevent you from presenting these petitions to a parliament which you so much approve of ; but, that I myself may not, from my silence, pass for a fool, too, I think it right to tell you, as I told you in 1814 and 1815, that *Corn Bills can do you no good* ; that all they can do for you, is to assist in adding to your ruin, while they expose you, at the very same time, to the hatred of the rest of the community.

The cause ; that is to say, the immediate cause, of your ruin is, *fall in prices*. The cause of that is, a diminution of the money in the country. The cause of that diminution is, an endeavour, on the part of the parliament, to compel the Bank to

pay in gold and silver, instead of promising to promise to pay, for so many years, and paying, in fact, in bits of oblong material, consisting of oil, lamp-black, and ground rags. The cause of this endeavour to return to cash payments is of a mixed nature : partly moral and partly political. The men in the ministry, and in parliament, who conduct the affairs of this happy nation, began to be ashamed of not returning to cash payments, agreeably to their declarations and enactments. They began to be ashamed to look one another in the face ; and there were not wanting persons to taunt them with the failure of their promises. But, besides this, they saw (for even an idiot must have seen), that, until the country returned to cash payments, *it never would dare to go to war* ; and this for two reasons, first, because the expences of a new war would compel them to make new and enormous issues of paper money ; and, second, because, in a state of war, no man could answer for the credit of the paper money for one single day, seeing that any foreign nation might, according to our own example, in our conduct towards France and America

render our circulating paper as worthless as so many pieces of those rags, which you fling over your land for the purpose of manure.

Here, then, brother Jobbernoles; here brother Chewbacons; here brother clod-thumpers; *here are the causes*, immediate and remote, of your ruin; of your removal from farm houses to work-houses; of your change from big plump cheeks and swelled-out bellies to lant-horn jaws and herring paunches. Take a good look at these causes. Think a little about your bankers and your banker's book. Recollect how easy you used to get money from your banker; and pray mark well that your stock now belongs to him much more than to yourselves.

It is the diminution of the quantity of money circulating in the country, which has been the cause of your ruin. The ministry, and that parliament, which you like so well; these good gentlemen did, for the reasons above stated, wish a return to cash payments. In order to return to cash payments, it was necessary that the Bank should reduce the quantity of its paper money. The Bank reduced its quantity

of paper money; the Country Bankers did the same. Prices fell in consequence of this. Wheat came down from twelve shillings a bushel to eight or seven. You had still the same nominal sum of rent to pay, of tythes, in many cases, and of taxes in all cases. Your corn having fallen in price nearly one half, you have now to give nearly *twice the quantity of it* to the landlord, the parson, and the tax-gatherer, that you gave before. So that, your ruin must be inevitable. Your labourers, indeed, and servants in husbandry, you have compelled to lower their wages in proportion to the fall in your prices; but, in pinching them to the utmost of your power you have been unable to keep employed the same number of hands as before. Still the poor creatures must *continue to exist*. They cannot be knocked on the head. It would not be safe to suffer a million or two of persons in one country to be without food. They would break out, and, thinking that they were not born to starve in a land of plenty, *would take the food*; therefore, they must be fed, in a way sufficient to keep them alive. Hence comes

a dreadful augmentation of the poor rates; and that, too, just at the very time, when, even without this new charge, you are upon the point of becoming paupers.

Do you understand this? Can you misunderstand it? Indeed, to suppose you capable of misunderstanding what I have here written, would be to suppose you less rational than the horses or the oxen that drag your ploughs and waggons. Nevertheless, I will place the matter in another point of view; for, the salvation of the country depends, and it *wholly* depends, upon this matter being clearly understood.

You will observe, that, while the regular diminution in the quantity of money in the country ruins you, it does great good to some other classes of the community. We have seen how it must benefit a landlord who let his farm some time back. We have seen that it gives him four hundred bushels of wheat in place of two hundred. We have seen that this is the case when corn has been brought down to half the price at which it was when the farm was taken. And, by the by, corn is, at this hour, taking

barley, oats and wheat together, at less than half the average price, which it brought for many years previous to 1814. We have seen, then, that the landlord in such a case, gets twice as much as he got before. But, so also does the fund-holder, the place-man, the pensioner, the sinecurist, the army, the navy, the tax-gatherer himself, and every other creature who lives upon the produce of the taxes.

Now, suppose you were to agree at Michaelmas to give your servant men twenty-four pounds a year a piece, and your servant women twelve pounds a year a piece. Suppose they were to board themselves, and were to receive their wages monthly. Suppose that, just after you had made the bargain, a law were to be passed to compel you to pay them these wages, and an addition to them, regularly increased, from month to month, in such proportion as would make the last month for every man four pounds, and the last month for every woman two pounds. I am supposing the increase to have been gradual from the first month to the last; and, in that case, you would, at the end of the year, have paid each man

thirty-six pounds, and each woman eighteen pounds, instead of the twenty-four pounds and the twelve pounds that you had agreed for.

Now, how should you relish a law like this? How should you relish such a law, and how should you act while Dick and Bess were pocketing your money and laughing in your faces? Would you not swear and stamp, and kick the dogs about the house, as you do in a rainy harvest? Would you not bellow like your calves and roar like your bulls? Yet, this is precisely what has been done by that parliament which you so much love, with regard to the wages of placemen, and the pay and income of all others, whose income and pay come out of the taxes. You can see clearly enough that you pay the landlord and the parson more than you ought to pay. You grumble, and pretty loudly, too, with regard to them; and you vent your ill-humour most copiously upon the poor; but the fundholders, the placemen, the sinecure gentlemen and ladies: these you take special care never to offend by your unmannerly complaints and reproaches. To support these,

you not only give your money freely; but, upon all occasions, you come boastingly forward with offers of your services and your lives.

There are some of you who have borrowed money, by mortgage, bond, annuity, or under some other shape. If you did this five years ago, you must now pay twice as much interest as you did the first year after the loan was made; just in the same way that you, if a renter, must, as above proved, pay a double rent to the landlord. You must sell twice as many bushels of corn to get the money to pay your interest as you had to sell to pay your interest during the first year of the loan. Now, let us take a simple case: suppose a farmer has borrowed on mortgage a thousand pounds, and suppose his farm to have been worth two thousand pounds when he borrowed the money. Suppose the loan to have been made to him six years ago. The interest of the thousand pounds then required about seventy bushels of wheat. This was what he, in fact, bargained to pay. Now, suppose a law be passed, or a series of laws to be passed, to compel him to pay more than he had bar-

gained to pay. About ten pounds more the first year. That is to say, nearly sixty pounds, instead of fifty pounds. Nearly twenty pounds the next year, more than the fifty. And so on, till, at this time, he has to pay a hundred a year in place of the fifty; or, which is the same thing, has to sell a hundred and forty bushels of wheat, instead of seventy bushels of wheat, to pay the interest with. Suppose, I say, that a law had been passed just after he had made the loan, to compel him to make payments in this increased way; and suppose, further, that the same law authorised the mortgagee to enter up his mortgage, and to sell the farm, which farm, observe, will now sell for only one thousand pounds instead of two. Suppose the farm to sell for less than a thousand pounds, and the mortgagee to seize the goods of the farmer, and to take the very bed from under his wife to make up the deficiency. Suppose a law like this to be passed, suppose the law to say that these things shall take place; what would the farmer; what would the ruined monopolizer of loyalty say? Would he not rail a bit? Would he not begin to think

that his boisterous and black-guard execrations against the Radicals had been improperly employed? Yet, this is precisely the effect of the laws which have been passed, and the measures which have been adopted, to cause a return to cash payments.

If, therefore, you have not completely taken leave of your senses, you will cease to clamour about Corn Bills. You will no longer be the laughing stock of men of sense. You will no longer be objects of hatred amongst the other classes of the community; but will join with the rest of your countrymen in calling for a remedy which is pointed out by common sense. Before, however, I speak of that remedy, it may be necessary, or, at least, it may be useful to notice, what is going on amongst you, in the several parts of the country. Time and experience do not appear to have had any effect upon you. I have, before me, an "*Address from the Huntingdonshire Agricultural Association, to the Occupiers of Lands.*" This Address appears to have proceeded from an association of landlords, who are calling upon the occupiers to come forward again

with petitions: and this they do in the following curious manner. They put thirteen questions to them, which, they say, must all be answered in the negative; and, then, they most earnestly exhort them to come *boldly* forward and petition. They tell them to petition *boldly* and *peaceably*. They tell them that they are the most industrious and most useful class of the community; and that they ought not to *suffer* themselves to be borne down by the senseless cry of the manufacturers, or by the clamour and violence of a mob. They bid them, in short, to petition away, as gaily as ever, for Corn Bills and Commercial Restrictions; and this, too, precisely at the time when commerce and manufactures are crying aloud for a repeal of the present Corn Bill. They invoke them to leave *violence* to their opponents, and to rest their cause upon argument. The questions which they put to them, are such as very weak and very greedy persons would naturally put, upon such an occasion, and under such circumstances. It is altogether a most contemptible and ridiculous document; but I will insert it just as I find it; and

then make a few remarks upon it.

" The parliament being shortly expected to assemble, your attention is most seriously called to a few important questions, which, if answered, as they cannot fail to be, by men of *plain understandings*, you will, no doubt, think it high time *loudly* to call on the Legislature to take your grievances into their most serious consideration, under the pressure of which, if not speedily redressed, you *must soon sink to rise no more*.

" 1. Will the present prices of agricultural produce pay the expences of growing it?

" 2. Do you, when at market, perceive the times are mending?

" 3. On passing the last Corn Bill, did the Legislature say that wheat could be grown to remunerate the grower, under ten shillings per bushel?

" 4. Are your expences less now than they were when the last Corn Bill was passed?

" 5. Is it just that foreign nations, *who bear no share of the burthens of this country*, should be suffered to undersell you in your own markets?

" 6. Will you *patiently* suffer

" yourselves to be undersold by
" foreign nations ?

" 7. Do the merchants, or ma-
" nufacturers, bear their propor-
" tion of supporting the clergy,
" the church, the poor, and the
" roads ?

" 8. Have very many of you
" experienced much benefit from
" your rents having been low-
" ered within the last four or
" five years ?

" 9. Can you, if the present
" prices continue, occupy your
" poor lands, rent free ?

" 10. If occupied rent free,
" will the ruin of the landlords
" benefit you ? Or do you think
" it just they should be so occu-
" pied ?

" 11. Can the landed pro-
" prietors bear their proportion
" of the burthens of the state, if
" they get nothing for their es-
" tates ?

" 12. Can you bear to see the
" condition of your labourers
" getting worse and worse every
" day, from your inability to
" support or employ them ?

" 13. Will you, the most *indus-*
" *trious* and *useful* class of the
" community, *suffer* yourselves
" to be borne down by the
" *senseless cry of the manufac-*
" *turers*, or the *clamour* and
" *violence of a mob* ?

" If to these questions you an-
" swer No ; surely you must be
" anxious, without delay, *boldly*
" and *respectfully to come for-*
" *ward to petition* the Legisla-
" ture to redress your *grievances*,
" as the only *rational* method
" of averting the ruin which
" will so speedily overwhelm
" you. If you ask, as you pro-
" bably may, what did you get
" by your petitions last year ?
" the answer is obvious: *much*
" *was gained*, by its having as-
" certained that many, who be-
" fore opposed your claims, af-
" ter reading your petitions, ac-
" knowledged your *grievances*,
" and in the House of Commons
" advocated the *justice of your*
" *cause*. For what do you peti-
" tion ? You petition only that
" your *grievances may be en-*
" *quired into* by the Legislature
" of your country ; surely no
" proceeding can be more rea-
" sonable, more moderate. Pro-
" ceed, then, as you have hither-
" to done, *leave violence* to your
" *opponents*, ' let them sound
" ' the tocsin of alarm ;' they
" have no arguments to oppose
" to your well-founded com-
" plaints ; *petition boldly* and
" *peaceably*, and you will ulti-
" mately find that justice and
" reason will prevail over *cla-*

"mour, folly, and self interest."
"rest."

The first four questions are childish; purely childish. The next two tend to a demand for a new Corn Bill. They ask you whether it be *just* that foreign nations, who bear no share of the burthens of this country, should be suffered to undersell you in your own markets; and, then, they say, will you *patiently* suffer yourselves to be undersold by foreign nations. In answer to this you might say, that, as to suffering patiently, you have no more patience in your natures than other people; but that there is no way of showing your *impatience*, except that of resistance; and, that you would be glad to know whether that be a mode of prevention which your landlords recommend. Because, if it be, you have got horses and uniform and swords, only you must wait, 'till the landlords come and put themselves at your head. They tell you that foreign nations bear *no share of the burthens of this country*. By which, they mean, I suppose, that foreign nations pay no part of the taxes of England. This is not quite so clear a point as these jolter-headed landlords appear to imagine.

They cannot, indeed, pass laws to enable an English tax-gather to collect taxes in France or in America; but wise men would know how to pass laws which would make foreign nations contribute, and contribute largely too, towards the taxes of England. Suppose, for instance, a master cutler, with twenty men, employed at Birmingham in making knives for the use of the people in Mr. BIRKBECK'S settlement. Suppose the knives sent out to amount to two thousand pounds a-year. Suppose Mr. BIRKBECK'S settlement to send over to Portugal or Spain two thousand pounds worth of flour, and as much more as would pay all expences that would arise from the turning of it into money. By the means of bills of exchange, this two thousand pounds finds its way to Birmingham, where, after paying the twenty men excellent wages, affording the master and his family the means of excellent living, and the means of putting a little by, it circulates in all directions, and the far greater part of it finally passes through the hands of the farmer, in exchange for his flour, meat, and wool. It is clear that this sum

of two thousand pounds would enable the parties into whose pockets it would come, to pay the more taxes, on account of having received it; and thus, as clearly as that two and two make four, Mr. BIRKBECK's settlement would bear a share of the burthens of this country.

This is a very plain and simple case. Such a case is seldom seen in practice; for, commercial transactions are complicated; and can only be illustrated, in this sort of way. But, now, to come closer to your affair: suppose the flour to come to England under the present circumstances, instead of going to Portugal or Spain. It is put into warehouse: it is re-shipped, after a time; and then it goes to Portugal or Spain. You would prevent this; for you say that the warehousing does you harm. The American ship has to pay light-house duty, pilotage, wharfage; the flour has to pay warehousing. The English merchant gains at every step. An English ship is employed to carry away the flour, when it goes away. The final consumer of the flour pays all this to English merchants, ship owners, sailors, and workmen; and the American ship that brought

the flour takes back a cargo of English goods to America, amongst which, perhaps, there is another two thousand pounds worth of knives. This cargo is bought by an English merchant, who has another cargo to receive by and by, in payment for the cargo which he has here sent away.

Now, do you not see, in all these operations, the means of making America and Portugal contribute towards English taxation, and English prosperity? If you do not, I would advise you to give over thinking about the matter.

However, let us suppose the two thousand pounds worth of knives to be paid for in part by American food. That, say you, is our case. Suppose the whole to be paid for in flour to be consumed in England. That is not your case, nor any thing like it; but suppose it to be your case. Even then, the importation of foreign produce can do you *no harm*; but, on the contrary, good; for, after all, the food that was brought from America would have come in consequence of means, which means would never have existed, if the flour had not been ready to come. The flour would be con-

sumed in the country, but it would be consumed by mouths which *never could have consumed yours*; because the persons having those mouths would not, had it not been for the Americans taking their knives, have had the means of purchasing any flour at all. If this be not clear, take another supposition. Imagine ten men and a master dropping down from the clouds, setting to work, with the tools that they had brought down with them, and making knives, as in the other case. Suppose them to receive in exchange, not only all the food that they lived upon, but all their clothing into the bargain. There they would be without eating any of your food or using any of your wool, or leather, or flax. Even then, the operation would be to the advantage of the nation; you must participate in that advantage; while it is impossible for you to say that the introduction of American produce, in this case, did you any harm.

The truth is, that, to prevent the importation of foreign produce, is merely to injure commerce and manufactures without any possible benefit to the land. The food which is imported from foreign countries is, and must be, paid for in the use of English ships, in the products of the labour of English manufacturers, in the products of English mines, and in the products, too, of the land of England. In exchange (to continue the American illustration) for English cloth made out of English wool, and in

exchange for the other things above mentioned, there come, amongst other things, American flour; but this flour does not come unless something be sent from this country in exchange for it; so that, when the flour does come, it comes to mouths which would not consume yours if the American flour did not come.

You and your landlords never take into consideration the important circumstance of *diminished consumption*. You appear to imagine that the people will continue to eat as much bread and meat, *whether they have commerce or manufactures or not!* This is your conclusion, but the conclusion is not only false, but ridiculous. Can a man who earns seven shillings a week, lay out as much upon food as he used to do when he earned twenty? If not, how can a manufacturing town or city be expected to consume as many oxen and sacks of flour, when the workmen in it earn seven shillings a week, as it did when its workmen earned twenty. The great cause of your ruin is, as was before shewn, *the change in the value of money*; but this cause works in various ways; and in one way, it diminishes the consumption of food, and, in this, it is assisted by the Corn Bill, which, by diminishing the export of manufactures, diminishes the means of the manufacturers to purchase food. Immense, therefore, has been the falling off in the demand for food, as the butchers in and near all manufacturing towns,

can, I am sure, most amply attest. The difference, in the mode of living, amongst the most numerous classes, is quite surprising. I believe that there are millions who now have not more than a third part of as much as they could eat, and who formerly had a belly-full. I believe, if all the people in England were taken and weighed, they would not weigh so much, by one third, as the people weighed seven years ago. Yet, this is a matter that your wise landlords never appear to take into consideration.

The seventh question is just what one would expect from a set of grumbling, grunting, growling, half landlord half farmers. It is this, "do the *merchants and manufacturers* bear their proportion of supporting the Clergy, the Church, the Poor, and the Roads?" You are told that you must answer this question in the negative; and ought, thereupon, to step *boldly* forward to avert the ruin which must speedily overwhelm you. Now, I say, that if you do answer this question in the negative, you must have little more sense than a rat or a cat; and perhaps, not so much. If Mr. Walter, who pays, probably, sixty thousand pounds a year, in stamp duty, were to come out, one of these days, and call upon his customers to thank him for this enormous contribution towards the revenue, do you think that there would be nobody to be found to tell him, that it was not he who paid the sixty thousand pounds

a year, but the people who purchased his paper? And, do not those who purchase your corn, meat, wool, hides and flax, do not these pay their share towards *all the expences* which are incurred in the raising of those articles of produce? When they were at it, I wonder the wise-acres of Huntingdonshire, had not included the rent, the taxes, and labour, of their farms; which they might have done with full as much reason. It may be very well for Mr. Curwen, Mr. Western, and such very shallow men, to talk about the land supporting the Church, the Poor and the Roads; but every man of sense will laugh at such trash; and will see that not only the merchant and the manufacturer bear their due proportion of all these; but that a due proportion is also borne by the labourer and the journeyman, and by every creature that eats bread of his own earning.

The eighth question is, at once, insidious and silly. I will only ask you to look at it again. If it does not make you laugh, misery must have rendered your risible muscles immovable.

The ninth question may with truth, I dare say, be answered in the negative. And this answer is the best possible commentary that can be made upon the former bragging and boasting about the great number of *Inclosure Bills* that were annually passed. I can readily believe that poor lands, even though rent free, will not enable an occupier to pay the poor

rates and the assessed taxes; and, if Castlereagh wants a better proof than this of the prosperity of the country, let him find it where he can.

Under *number ten*, there are two questions which are unworthy of notice, except on account of their exquisite silliness.

The *eleventh* question is of a description not to have been put even to you. But still, plain as the landlords may think it appear, I venture to give it an answer, contrary to the one they anticipate and regard as inevitable. The question is this, "Can the landed proprietors bear their proportion of the burthens of the state, if they get nothing for their estates?" I say they can; for, if they get nothing for their estates, they then become labourers; and we know well that every labourer is compelled to contribute his proportion of the burthens of the state. He is compelled to pay taxes upon an infinite number of articles that he uses, and he is also compelled to come forward in person, to take arms and to fight for his country. This is contributing his proportion of the burthens of the state; and when the landlords are placed in this situation, they will doubtless cheerfully submit to burthens, which they have had no scruple in imposing upon him.

The *twelfth* question is rather of a pathetic description; "Can you bear to see the condition of your labourers getting worse and worse every day?" This is pointed at your tender feel-

ings; but there is a *tail* to this question; namely, "from *your inability* to support or employ them?" Oh! no! I can easily believe that you *cannot bear* to think of *your inability* to support or employ them; but, when I reflect on the observations which I have heard from *some* farmers relating to their labourers, I am almost disposed to believe, that to make such farmers feel as much as they ought for the poor, they must themselves be reduced to the condition of paupers.

The *thirteenth*, and last, question compliments you, as the *most industrious* and *most useful class* of the community. This is vulgar stuff, that has neither sense nor decency in it. In a well ordered state, all classes are equally useful, because they are all equally necessary. To say that a dull, slow ploughman or shepherd is more *industrious* than an intelligent, active, bustling shopman, is ridiculous, upon the face of it. Yet the calling of the one is as much an *industrious* calling as is that of the other. Slowness of motion is not only habitual, but proper, in the one case, as nimbleness is in the other. All *classes* are equally industrious, if the comparison be made as to the people of the *same country*; and, therefore, to cry up one class, as the *most industrious*, is to discover a great degree of that "*senseless cry*," which, in this very question, is ascribed to the manufacturers, who are here accused of a "*senseless cry*," while the *people*, under the name of *mob*, are accused of

clamour and violence. Violence might, indeed, be pretty fairly imputed to those who are at all times ready to *cut and slash*. But what violence has been committed, or attempted, or even talked of, towards the farmers, I am at a loss to discover. The Corn Bill was passed in spite of the petitions of almost the whole nation; and in no part of the kingdom have there been any violences (since the passing of that Bill, and in consequence of it), committed against the farmers; though, since that period, the sufferings of the people, from actual hunger, have been greater than any ever before experienced by any people in the world.

It is curious enough, that the wise men, who drew up these questions and observations, seem never to have thought about the 44 millions a year raised for the National Debt and Sinking Fund. They complain of *Church, Poor, and Roads*; but say not a word about the great burthen of all. They complain against the *Merchants and Manufacturers*, who suffer as much as you do; but make no complaint against *Fundholders, Placemen, Pensioners, and Army and Navy*. The truth is, they are *afraid*. They dare not open their lips upon *this* subject! If they were to touch here, they would be *joining the Radicals*; and that would not do! However, they and you and all other complainants must join the Radicals at last, or, you will get *no redress*.

As to the remedy for your

ills, I have not room to speak of it here. I may probably address another letter to you; and, in the mean while, I sincerely hope, that your produce will go on falling in price, till your eyes be completely opened. *If Peel's Bill be not repealed*, your wheat will, very likely, be at *five shillings* a bushel before the end of this year. That would make you *Reformers*; but, perhaps, it must come down to *four shillings* before you will become downright *Radicals*. It is not, as yet, either *treason* or *blasphemy* to pray for *cheap meat and bread*; one cannot be *banished* for putting up such a prayer; and, therefore, put it up I do with all possible fervor and piety.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. I have spoken to you, above, in your capacity as members of the *body politic*. Let me now say a word or two to you in your capacity as *farmers*. In a work of mine, entitled, "*A Year's Residence in America*," is contained some very useful information on the subject of *preserving turnips*, of both kinds; and also on the subject of *oxen*, as *working animals*. Nothing is more easy than to have for use in *April* and *May* (the Swedish even in *July*) the thousands and hundreds of thousands of tons of turnips, which are *wasted* in the four preceding months. Cabbages may easily be kept till March, perfectly sound. As to *oxen*, it is clear to me, that the loss is enormous from employing *horses* in agricultural work. At plough,

"in teaching nations how to
"live," is the wish of,

Sir,

Your very obedient and
humble servants,

THE FEMALE REFORMERS OF
COVENTRY.

ANSWER.

I receive with inexpressible pleasure and gratitude this mark of the esteem and confidence of the Female Reformers of the City of Coventry, whose disinterested and spirited conduct during the last election, I shall never forget, and never think of unaccompanied with feelings of admiration.

It is very true, that the votes of a great part of your *husbands, sons, and brothers* were withheld from me by the proceedings of a "*ferocious and bloody banditti*." Those husbands, sons, and brothers, were, like the rest of us, but *men*; had they been *women*, the result, I am persuaded, would have been different. Their conduct, however, I ascribe to their anxiety, not for themselves, but for *you*; and, therefore, I applaud their motive, whatever reasons I may have to lament its effects.

In the excess of that partiality, which I had the good fortune to excite in your minds, you, doubtless, greatly over-rate the power that I, by being placed in the parliament, should have had to serve the country. But, my *desire* to render such service you cannot over-rate; and, of one thing I am certain, that, if my desire had remained ungratified, the cause would not have been a want of zeal, in-

dustry or perseverance. I might have *failed* in effecting good; but, you may be assured, that I would not, like some *out-of-doors talkers*, have secured myself from failure by taking care *never to make the attempt*. I would never have shown myself too lazy, too feeble, or too timid to *impeach* ministers, if I had asserted those ministers to be worthy of a *halter*; and especially if that assertion had been founded on the conduct, as described by myself, of those ministers towards a virtuous, a generous, and barbarously treated Queen.

As to those persons, whose *purses* fed, armed, and put in motion the ferocious and bloody banditti at Coventry, they are, be you well satisfied, now tasting the reward of their conduct upon that occasion; and, in the present, they see nothing but indubitable evidence of ruin in the future. *Your* lot cannot be made worse; but *theirs* may and will. They themselves will, at last, cry out for deliverance. They will at last cry out for help; and, will they not be sufficiently punished by the reflection, that they have *no right* to address this call to any but *Peter Moore*, and *Edward Ellice*?

Satisfied, as I long have been, that nothing but a *Radical Reform in the Common's House* can restore us to harmony and happiness, my exertions towards accomplishing that object will never cease but with the accomplishment. In the making of these exertions I shall constantly be animated by the hope

of alleviating the sufferings of the industrious classes in every part of the kingdom, and especially in the City of Coventry.

I am addressing myself to mothers and wives. It is, therefore, unnecessary for me to attempt to describe the feelings excited in my breast, and in my family, by the wish expressed in the concluding part of your letter; or, to assure you, that that wish is returned with the most perfect sincerity. As, however, domestic happiness depends in a great degree upon ourselves; and, as long and attentive observation has taught me, that *sobriety* is the great promoter of gentleness in parents, and dutifulness in children, permit me to hope, that you will receive as a mark of my unfeigned regard, an expression of my anxious hope, that you will, one and all of you, as mothers, wives, relations, or neighbours, use your utmost endeavours to cherish that guardian habit, without the constant observance of which, the choicest of God's blessings are bestowed on us in vain.

I am,

Your faithful friend,

And most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

London, 3d January, 1821.

P. S.—I have some fear, that the Queen will, after all, be sacrificed by the *intriguers* for place. They are working hard to take her from the people and make her an instrument in the hands of the *Boroughmongers*. I shall, as soon as possible, en-

deavour to show her Majesty what a gulph is opening before her. The people have done their duty: but, if the Queen quit them to rely on a "*selfish faction*," the people can do nothing more.

PLACARD CONSPIRACY
(DOCUMENTS CONCLUDED FROM THE
LAST REGISTER, P. 1690, 1700)

MR. PEARSON'S LETTER.
To the Editor of the Morning
Chronicle.

SIR,—In your Paper of this day, I perceive an Advertisement from Mr. Denis O'Bryen, in which, under the pretence of being desirous of ascertaining the address and character of the several witnesses upon the back of the indictment against him, he takes an opportunity of discharging his arrows at myself, and various other persons, for the part which we have felt it our duty to take in this prosecution. Had Mr. O'Bryen confined himself to the professed object of his advertisement, I might have considered it unnecessary and impolitic, but, as it would not have been either *true* or *just* to the living or the dead, I should have quietly left Mr. O'Bryen to have reaped all the advantages which he could have contemplated by such a procedure. As, however, that gentleman has thought fit to introduce my name to my disadvantage, I shall violate a rule which I had prescribed to

myself, of not saying one word of him, or his case, *while under prosecution.*

Mr. O'Bryen's advertisement is a repetition of one published in your paper some days since. I had, however, resolved not to reply to it, making some allowance for the naturally-agitated feelings of a gentleman, placed in Mr. O'Bryen's situation.—Since, however, it now appears that his cool *reflection* approves of the conduct which I had attributed to his *passion*, I shall not permit the plea of momentary warmth and intemperance any longer to screen him from the consequences of his unjust insinuations, and wilful misstatements. Mr. O'Bryen, in his advertisement, says, "Until the 15th ult. (November), the duration of divers ailments disabled me from attending to any duty beside *my health*. In the interval since that period, my utmost power, with a pen in my hand, has hardly accomplished an object, in my estimation, more important, than the punishment of all my non-parliamentary persecutors; unavoidably, therefore, I lost the last Term." Thereby implying, that he had not had, since the 10th of October last, a day, or an hour to instruct his solicitor as to the hostile proceedings which he pretends he meditated: the "object" to which Mr. O'Bryen adverts as having employed his "utmost power with a pen in his hand," was, probably, that of writing a certain "*narrative*"—what a pity, that men who write much upon the *same* subject have not *better memories!* Does Mr.

Denis O'Bryen recollect in any "*narrative*" this passage? "*When I first heard of the charge on which Mr. Bennet has so much improved, I literally published myself—until sickness struck me down. I got DAILY ON HORSEBACK—I rode to Bow-street—I WENT TO PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS—I stood at my windows contrary to custom.*" What a pity, Sir, that among this gentleman's equestrian excursions he could never find his way to the office of his *solicitor*. What a pity that he did not exchange an attendance at one of these places of "public amusement," for an attendance upon the *Three Learned Counsel* whom, in his advertisement, he says he has retained; and it really appears to me, Sir, that it would be much more consistent with the ardour of Mr. O'Bryen's character, as well as with the delicacy of his situation, if, instead of "*publishing*" himself, and "*standing at his window contrary to custom,*" he had occupied himself in making preparations for those proceedings which he now pretends to have had in contemplation. Really, Sir, I can hardly continue serious while I read Mr. O'Bryen's vapouring about *his prosecuting* for a conspiracy. I should like to see an indictment setting forth a *catalogue* of the *grievances* of which *he* complains; only let it be in *rhyme*, and seasoned with a little of Mr. O'Bryen's wit and pleasantry, it might stand a successful competition with the humorous consultations of the renowned Hudibras with the sage ex-

pounder of the law in his day. Mr. O'Bryen's *threat* is, however, not more *ridiculous* than is the insinuation contained in the next sentence of his advertisement — contemptible and base: he says, "*My vigilant adversaries, aware that a prosecution for conspiracy was among my legal contemplations, anticipated my taste, and briskly furnished me with one at their hands;*" as if the indictment found against him by the Grand Inquest had not contained charges of the greatest magnitude and importance, but had been adopted as a "*set off*" for any proceeding which he might have meditated. Whereas Mr. O'Bryen well knew, that, so far from having "*anticipated his taste*" from any knowledge of his "*legal contemplations,*" in my letter to you on the 13th of Oct. last, in reply to a scurrilous attack from Mr. O'Bryen, I informed that gentleman, that I intended to prefer a Bill against him for a conspiracy; and that, too, upon the precise evidence on which this indictment was found. Mr. O'Bryen thinks fit to allude to my *civility* towards him on the night of his apprehension; and I can assure him, that my civility was not intended to purchase his *praise*, neither did I (I confess) expect that it would have called forth his *sarcasms*. But I do not attach that importance to either the one or the other, to suppose that it would aid me in "*the division of the booty,*" which Mr. O'Bryen, in return for my kindness, pays me the compliment to suppose I look for from a Reform in Par-

liament. It, perhaps, may not be irrelevant to inform this gentleman, that, as a consequence of that which he now *sneers at* under the name of Reform, I expect the pockets of the honest and industrious classes of the community will cease to be taxed, to reward *apostacy and treachery* with either *sinécure places* or *unmerited riches*. If this can be called "*a division of the booty,*" I confess that I am anxious to partake of its advantages in common with the rest of my suffering countrymen.

As an attached friend of Mr. Fox and his principles, you have doubtless seen with disgust, the persevering endeavours of Mr. O'Bryen to connect his name continually, in this transaction, with that of this distinguished statesman. That Mr. O'Bryen enjoyed the friendship of Mr. Fox, is certainly true; and that he also had the confidence of several of Mr. Fox's friends, is equally so; and had that individual lived, he might, perhaps, like his friends, have found good cause to lament the calamity.

If Mr. O'Bryen, in spite of his late *intimacies and associations*, still feels any friendship for the man, or respect for his memory, I would pray of this gentleman, in mercy to the reputation of his friend, not uselessly to drag his name before the public, until Mr. O'Bryen shall have established his innocence of the charges brought against him. It is now 14 years since Mr. Fox was consigned to the silent tomb. Peace be to

his ashes! It is no part of the duties of friendship, to drag him forth to be exhibited to satisfy the inquiries of the curious, or to gratify the suspicions of the malignant. The persecution of a man's *enemies* pursues him to the tomb, but there stops short. It would, indeed, be cruel, were not the grave to protect him from the *suspicious kindness of his friends*.

By this extraordinary advertisement, the Duke of Bedford is made to share a portion of the writer's resentment, for having subscribed towards the expences of the prosecution. In justice to his Grace, it should be observed, that the subscription alluded to was sent to forward the inquiry into this mysterious transaction, without reference to the mode in which it was to be applied, and without knowing the individuals who might be so far implicated as to become the subjects of prosecution. If I can appreciate the Duke's motive in contributing the sum in question, it was worthy of the *House of Russell*, a desire that the march of public justice should not be impeded for want of pecuniary means, and without reference to any feeling of fear, favour, or affection. Did Mr. O'Bryen stand in need of pecuniary means of defence, I make no doubt but that the kindly and generous disposition of his Grace would prompt him to be equally a contributor to that gentleman's necessities.

Mr. O'Bryen says in his advertisement—"Were the reader in FULL LIGHT, he could not but concur with me in expecting

to see the name of Mr. Fox (*re-
arisen from the sepulchre*), almost as soon as the name of his Grace, in patronage of such a subscription." This is one of the few assertions in Mr. O'Bryen's letter, in which I fully concur. I am "*in full light*," and I do verily believe, that, were Mr. Fox "*re-
arisen from the sepulchre*," we should see his name precisely where that of the Duke of Bedford now stands. The attempt of Mr. O'Bryen to excite commiseration by perpetually recurring to his intimacy with Mr. Fox, I have before adverted to, and his constant appeal to the Whigs, is not less reprehensible. Mr. O'Bryen knows well that he has not now, and has not had, for a long time past, "any part or lot" with that body. Whether an association with the Whigs would be creditable to either him or them, I leave those who feel any interest in the question to determine. But Mr. O'Bryen knows that he has, *under his own hand*, assigned a supposed slight from his Grace of Bedford, as his reason for "*changing sides*," so long ago as August, 1815.

Mr. O'Bryen knows, and I know, and Mr. O'Bryen knows that I know, that he has voluntarily chosen to record his connexion with Lord Liverpool and Mr. Canning since August, 1815, and to point those statesmen out as the probable successors to that place in his affections which had been held successively by Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and "Poor Sheridan."

Had Mr. Denis O'Bryen main-

tained a prudent reserve respecting his acquaintance with the present Administration, their connexion might have been inferred, but could not have been proved; but this gentleman has given, under his own hand, a "confirmation strong as proof of holy writ."—"My faith is absolute that I should accomplish an exchange of my mockery of an office at the Cape for SOMETHING EFFICIENT; but for the light in which I had been exhibited to the world by the son of Mr. Fox's near neighbour and friend the Earl of Tankerville (Mr. Bennett), such exhibitor being also the nephew of the Duke of Bedford—I have not seen a single person connected with the Government SINCE Mr. Bennett's attack upon me." Alas! poor gentleman. By this misconduct of Mr. Bennett, Lord Liverpool and Mr. Canning have sustained the loss of Mr. Denis O'Bryen's acquaintance. Mr. Denis O'Bryen has lost "something efficient," and the public has lost the gratification which they would have felt in rewarding "the friend of Mr. Fox" for his "literary labours" in the service of that Statesman's political adversaries—except, indeed, Mr. O'B.; amid all his losses, should expect to find something—unless he should expect to regain the Duke of Bedford's patronage, and the friendship of "the son of Mr. Fox's near neighbour and friend the Earl of Tankerville."

I believe, Sir, it has not escaped your observation that I am not an advocate for the Whigs, *as such*; as, however,

I am "*in the light*," and Mr. Denis O'Bryen, in his advertisement, truly supposes the "*public*" is not, I cannot refrain, in justice to the Whigs, from protecting them against the severe affliction of Mr. Denis O'Bryen's friendship. Mr. O'Bryen is not a Whig:—he has long ceased to act with them—he has long acted against them:—they are probably now about to take the seats of Mr. O'Bryen's present patrons. This may be the cause of his frequent reference to the name of Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan as of his friends. Let Mr. O'Bryen and the Whigs appear before the country in their own character, and stand or fall by their own conduct. I sincerely hope, that, should the Whigs take office, they will be permitted to do so only under such a system of Reform as will not leave them either the disposition or the power to reward even regenerated apostacy, with "*something efficient*," whatever may be its claim upon individual friendships.

If Mr. O'Bryen seeks only to attain the professed object of his advertisement, that might be effected by half a dozen lines, without the gratuitous attacks which he directs against myself and others. The subscription is for the purpose of aiding individuals in bringing to light the atrocious proceedings which have disgraced the character of our country, and have, it is to be feared, brought many to an untimely end. If Mr. O'Bryen is innocent (upon which I will say nothing), a subscription cannot

make him *guilty*; and Mr. O'B. ought to look forward (if he is conscious of his innocence) to the day of trial as the time when he will prove to the world his integrity and honour.

Mr. O'Bryen shall meet from me with nothing but fair and candid treatment. Since I determined to bring his case before a jury, I have never either written or said one word tending to produce an impression unfavourable to that gentleman's case, except by my letter of the 12th of October, which I was compelled to write by his intemperate and abusive letter of the 11th, and had he not adopted the same course in his advertisement, to which this is a reply, the case should, as far as regards *myself*, have rested until the day of trial.

It is no part of my duty to make the law an instrument of oppression to those, who, innocent or guilty, have the real misfortune of being subjected to its visitations. I have not only abstained from prejudicing the public mind against Mr. O'Bryen, but I actually did not present the Bill against that Gentleman before the same Grand Jury as had found the indictment against Mr. Franklin, for High Treason, lest a portion of the obloquy which belonged to the latter, from the evidence adduced on the first day, might have unconsciously operated upon the minds of the Jury to the prejudice of the former. This was the reason why the latter Bill was not preferred till "*the last day but one in the Term*;" and yet this circumstance, which was intended by me as an act

of justice and liberality to Mr. O'Bryen, has been made the ground of censorious reflection in his advertisement. I should not have believed the circumstance, had not natural history taught me, that there is a species of living creatures which can extract venom from the most wholesome food; and the animal man can convert the generosity of his opponent's disposition into poison, wherein to dip the arrows of his malignity.

I pray a truce from Mr. Dennis O'Bryen in this unpleasant warfare. It must be injurious to him; it is painful to me. But I will not, *because he is under an indictment*, ever suffer him to take advantage of that circumstance to *attack me*, or to *delude the public*. I desire not to prejudice that gentleman upon his trial, and have therefore carefully avoided, in this letter, touching upon any topics connected with his case. But even this caution cannot protect him from the injurious effects of a paper war.

I am sure that no man who reads Mr. O'Bryen's advertisement, can rise up from the task with the same feeling in his favour with which he may have sat down.

If I might advise Mr. O'Bryen for his good, it would be to *write no more* until his trial shall have taken place: his case shall never be prejudiced by any observations of mine, either in public or private. If, however, he should be seized with the "*caecoethes scribendi*," let me intreat of him to submit his productions, *before publication*, to

the examination of the able counsel whom he has retained, or to the respectable solicitor whom he has employed; and, if I mistake not, they will say unto him, "Denis! Denis! put up thy PEN, for those who draw the PEN shall perish by the PEN."

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

CHAS. PEARSON.

Dec. 16, 1820.

MR. O'BRYEN'S ANSWER.

21, Craven-street, Dec. 22, 1820.

Unable to cope with the "Queen's Plate Committee" in wielding the liberty of the press, abridgement with me is not a matter of choice. My notice of the advertisement signed by Mr. Pearson in Tuesday's Chronicle must therefore be brief.

First, then, I declare that, so far from *intending* any "sarcasm" upon Mr. Pearson's "civility" to me upon the 27th of the last month (November), I *was, am, and ever shall be*, truly grateful for Mr. Pearson's waiving his alleged right to 48 hours notice of bail. Had Mr. P. pushed that right to extremity, an operation completed in two hours might have occupied two days; and, by obliging me to sleep out of my own bed, have endangered my existence. If upon this point my thanks are not unequivocal, I assure Mr. Pearson that the defect is not in my feeling.

2dly. Respecting the taunt of "my continually connecting my name with that of a great one, now no more," I own I was not conscious that such had been my habit. However, I shall, upon

this topic, kiss the rod of my antagonists, and admit that they as well as their mouth-piece Mr. Pearson, who (being only eleven years old at the death alluded to) possibly never beheld the individual whose memory he so piously protects from my sacrilege. I admit—at least, I shall not dispute, *their* prior solicitude in whatever regards the deceased. *That* item is, therefore, by this my concession, withdrawn from further controversy. In the same way, I would fain dispose of the charge of "my constant appeal to the Whigs." Until so instructed by Mr. Pearson and Co. I was wholly unaware of being obnoxious to reprehension on that score. But, *there* again I kiss the rod, and will strive to sin no longer.

3dly. As to "the Duke of Bedford's sharing my resentment" for subscribing to prosecute me, I expressed not resentment; I expressed *surprise*; and presumed some error in the advertisement. The repetition of the advertisement, still continuing his Grace's name, as an attracter of money, an exciter of clamour, and a disturber of the current of justice, against me (*against me---in legal accusation, denounced to be* "important to the honour of the nation, the rights of the people, and the tranquility of the State"), this use of the Noble Duke's name is, undoubtedly, *prima facie* evidence against my hypothesis. That same undefinable thing called "the people" is a tribunal which I neither offend nor appeal to.

As a private man, *my* proper public is the circle of my acquaintances, none of which will distrust me, when I assure them, that I have been, *for the last five days*, in possession of a letter from the Duke of Bedford (spontaneously written to me on reading my last publication), disclaiming that which seems to me to be the *clear purpose* of the subscription advertisement. His Grace's letter was, I believe, not meant to be private; and its perusal is accessible to any unprejudiced inquirer.

Lastly, and referably to the *real cause* of this my notice of Mr. Pearson's letter of Tuesday, which, though well written and nicely cooked to the popular palate, had passed unheeded by me, but for his quotations from an entirely private "Narrative" of mine, dated on the 23d of the last month. The interval since Tuesday has by me been employed in tracing the *traitor* who betrayed my wholly innocent secret into the hands of the most avowed, inveterate, and not least able, of my *enemies*; when honour would have interdicted the communication of the "Narrative" even to a *friend*, without my own authority. The result of my three days' investigation is, *the certainty* that this flagitious perfidy rests with some of the following five quarters, viz. two Opposition Peers (who, without questioning them I no more suspect than myself), two Opposition Commoners (of whom, for want of equal knowledge, I cannot vouch as I do for the two Peers), an old friend of mine, a

member of the London Corporation; and the printer of the "Narrative." The printer authorises me to state, the readiness of himself and of all his workmen to make affidavit—that not one copy has slipped from the printing-office. Time, I hope, will reveal my betrayer. Of all the evil symptoms of our troubled era, the most ominous is this—that politics are capable of annihilating all the fidelities, charities and moralities of the human heart.

DENIS O'BRYEN.

P.S. I repeat my hope of true information from honest men regarding the corps of swearers, whose names (already published) are here omitted, to save expence. The intelligence of "An enemy to mock patriots" will lead to good. "*Un ami*" has my sincere gratitude.

MR. COBBETT'S PUBLICATIONS.

The 37th Volume is now completed. The present Number (which is the *first* of Vol. 38.) contains a quarter of a sheet, with the Index and Title to Volume 37. This Volume, and also Vol. 36, may be had complete, *in boards*, at 10s. a volume. Numbers, to complete broken sets may also be had, of either of these volumes. It is recommended to gentlemen, who wish to complete their sets to apply for odd numbers without delay; for, the means of supplying them will soon waste away.

STAMPED REGISTER.

Many persons in the country have expressed a desire to see a return to the stamp, in order to remove the great difficulties which they experience in getting the Register. They complain, that, in all cases, out of great towns, they get it irregularly, and, in cases, where they are situated in small towns or villages, where there is no retailer of the Register, they cannot get it at any expence or in employing any trouble. They complain, that, in Ireland it is next to impossible to get the Register unstamped, until it be some weeks old.—This is all very true, and it is true, that the stamp would remove all these impediments, and send the Register home to people's doors by the mail and the post-man. But, it is also true, that there is a great deal of difference, to many persons, between *sixpence* and a *shilling and a halfpenny*, which latter was the price of the stamped Register, and under which price it could not well be sold. It is, however, possible, that it may be practicable to publish it in *both forms* at one and the same time. But the thing requires preparation.—At present it is intended to begin this mode of proceeding with the *first Number in February*. The experiment is, at any rate, worth trying.—Those gentlemen, in Ireland, or in places where it is difficult to get the unstamped Register, will please to bear in mind, that orders for it *must reach their newsmen, in London before the*

first of February. The newsmen are the persons to apply to in this case, as in the case of the newspapers, the channel and the mode of doing the business being the same.

“*Cobbett's Year's Residence in America*” consists of three parts, each 4s. in boards; the three parts in one vol. 10s. with a *Map of the United States*. This work contains, the writer is convinced, the best account of the people, the country, and the government, of America, and also of prices of land and labour, that ever was published. It was written on the spot, published *there* as well as in *England*, and had in view the object of conveying *true* and useful information. The agricultural parts of it are useful to English Farmers, many of whom have greatly profited from the information they convey; but, the writer presses upon the attention of cattle-feeders the matter of his work, which relates to the *preservation* of Cattle-food, and which has taught thousands in America to overcome their former *scarcity of April and May*, the pinching of which season may well be called the farmer's tormentor. Any one who has this work, ought, at this particular time to look at paragraphs 106, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, and 244. I made further experiments afterwards; and the Reader may be assured, that, if he cover *turnips*, of any kind, so as to keep them *cool*, and from *all LIGHT*, they will never be injured by *frost*. On the subject of *oxen*, as working

cattle, this work has some information singularly useful in England.

Cobbett's English Grammar, a new edition, price 2s. 6d.

PEEP AT THE PEERS.

A *New Edition* of this work, in the *same form* as *Cobbett's Register* is now published, and it may, therefore, be bound up with that work, and by that means be rendered convenient to refer to. The **AUTHORS** have now spared no pains to make their work complete.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Prospectus of a Work, called "*the Radical Magazine*" having been circulated *with the Register*, and the advertisement purporting, that this new work is to be published at the *same place* where the *Register* is published, many persons have supposed, that this new work was by *the author of the Register*. It is right, therefore, that such persons should be informed, that he has *nothing at all to do with this new Work*, of which, indeed, he has no knowledge whatever. The

Prospectus was circulated with the *Register* merely as other notifications are with the *Register* and with other similar works. But, somehow or other, the erroneous conclusion has been drawn by *many* persons, and, therefore, it is necessary to correct the error. No man ought to enjoy the reputation belonging to others; and, of all men living, the Author of the *Register* hopes that he would be amongst the last to acquire, even by his silence, such unmerited enjoyment.

N. B. Next *Register* will contain a *Sermon* to the *Methodists*.

REFORM DINNER.

It has been settled, upon the request of several Gentlemen in the Country, who wish to be present, and to whom it will be inconvenient to come to town till after the re-assembling of Parliament, to postpone this Meeting until about two weeks after Parliament has met. It has, besides, been thought advisable to be, before we meet, in possession of some knowledge of **CERTAIN PARLIAMENTARY MEASURES**, which, it is supposed, are in contemplation.